

SECRET

THE
TASTY
SCOTLAND
IN THREE
EASY
LESSONS

BY
JOHN
HORN
—
LONDON
1800

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TO THE
Nobility and Gentry
OF
SCOTLAND

My Lords and Gentlemen;

A Man who maketh the Publick Concern his own, and an Author that Dedicates his Works to any Society of People, the one must resolve to have the Sense of his Duty for a reward: And the other, Men of all Characters for his Patrons.

But Men that live together in a regular Society, are very much deceived, when they think it sufficient for their Happiness to scrape together plentiful Estates: without concerning themselves how the publick Business of their Country is managed. For, how can they be secure, either in their Enjoyment, if the Laws don't protect them? Or, how can they Hope for Good Laws, if they don't concern themselves with that Assembly, which hath the Legislative power?

Epistle Dedicatory.

Rome owes not her Greatness to her Founders, who were a parcel of People Born and Nurs'd up in Murders and Plunderings, and trained in all sort of Villanies; but to their Successors, who became Wise, Frugal, Just, and passionately studious of Virtue and Glory, till at last, they overtop'd in power all their Neighbours. Nor could any thing have put a stop to their Empire, till privat Men did prefer their own gain to the Interest of the Publick. Then was it, that, in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, all ran headlong into Slavery: The Consuls, the Senat, the Gentry: And the Nobler the Person was, the greater hast he made to ruin his Country.

My Lords,

You are Hereditary Members of Parliament, so that both your Titles of Honour and your privat Interests oblige your Lordships to be the Pillars and Supporters of your Country: By managing all it's Concerns, without the least byas, from that true Virtue which

Epistle Dedicatory.

inspired some of your Forefathers to appear Heroes for this Nation.

And you, Gentlemen, who are Members of Parliament, both your Duty to your Countrey, to your Friends, and to your selves, will stare you in the Face, if you do any thing against the Interest of any of them. And you that are not Members of Parliament, how necessary is it, for the Security of your Lives, Liberties and Properties, that good Laws be made, and every thing removed, that may endanger them? Be therefore diligent, in putting the Members of Parliament in mind of their Duty; and let the most sensible of you, who have Families and Estates to care for, endeavour to fill the Places of the Representatives of Parliament, when any are vacant, that by your Honesty and Wisdom, every Misfortune may be avoided, that hath threatned this Nation from Members, that have neither Fortune nor Reputation to preserve.

Whilst the Parliament contains Men of Courage and Publick Spirit, who can neither be bought nor frightened, Matters cannot long proceed amiss: And 'tis hard-

Epistle Dedicatory.

hardly conceivable, what Esteem is payed to Men of steady Principles, even by their Enemies: their very Words and Actions are admired and followed, so long as they live. Whereas busy Intriguers after Places and Pensions are contemptible to the very Men, of whom they are the wretched Instruments to enslave their Countrey.

Therefore, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, if these Essays can demonstrat any way the Interest of this Nation, I will have my Design both in Writing and Dedicating of them to you, on whom dependeth the greatest part of the Happiness of your Countrey.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
Tours, &c.

This Book being printed in haste, these Errors have escaped the Correction of the Press, which the Reader is desired to mend with his Pen.

Page 8. line 8. for *war*, read *were*. p. 32.
l. 8. f. *Pedro*. r. *Pietro*. p. 44. l. 28. f. *Unite*.
r. *Act*. p. 54. l. 17. f. *have*. r. *hath*. p. 100.
l. 9. f. *part*. r. *Party*.

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AN ESSAY
CONCERNING
*The true Original and Indif-
ference*
OF
Church Government.

ALL Christians are taught by Divine Revelation, that they are the Off-spring of one Man and one Woman; for whose sin being condemned to Ignorance, they are prone to Vice, and subject to unruly Passions, which hurries them on in the Commission of Evil, and causes Rapine and Violence to triumph in the World.

It was only a few of the first Ages, that retained any knowldg of *God*, and of *His Worship*; all the rest being left to the Dictats of *Nature*, to provide what they should find convenient for themselves: Till mutual fear of being oppressed one by another did oblige them to unite into *Communitiess*. Then arose *Command* and *Obedience*, which ever have been the support of all humane Affairs, the Bond of all Society, and the Spirit of every Body Politick, which inables all it's Members to live in *Unity*.

So long as the World was divided into petty Governments equal in strength amongst themselves, the greatest Ambition of each Mortal, was the Interest of that Society whereof he was a Member, so that *Self-preservation* had the same force to keep him to his duty, that *Religion* hath almost upon us at present. But so soon as some of those *Communitiess* did contract a Friendship and Assurance amongst themselves, perhaps some particular Member (whose ill Nature and Ambition over-reached the Wit of his Fellows) did engage them to league together

together, and to assault their Neigh-
bouring Governments, compelling them
one after another to submit and trudge
for their Maintainance, whilst they
loitered at home in ease and plenty:
and from such oppressive means (we
may suppose) did spring the *Affryrian*
Empire, (which is the first made men-
tion of in History) the Founder of
which was *Nimrod*, who had the Art
to cheat his Companions into a Com-
pliance with himself, for oppressing
their Neighbours, and to get himself
chosen their Captain, that he might at
last be able to buble them of their Lib-
erties, and to become their absolute *Mo-
narch*. So *Self-preservation*, that great
Motive which kept his Fore-fathers in
aw, being no longer in use to preserve
in order that new moulded Empire,
there was a necessity of some Model of
Civil¹ Government to make all its
Members live regularly, and to follow
the different professions assigned them;
that Corporations, Colledges, and every
Civil Community might have their use,
and that the distinction of *Absolute* and
Subordi-
B 2 *nat*

Subordinate Powers might come in fashion.

Nevertheless, this Empire had split in pieces in its very Infancy, (its People being in Ease and Plenty, and its Soldiers left to follow the itch of their own Inclinations) if there had not been some Men, by decay of Nature, perhaps incapable of the Vices then in Vogue, which had the foresight to joyn *Priest-Craft* with their Civil Government; for Banishing from it (as much as possible) both Mental and Corporal Vices, and for bringing People's Consciences under Subjection; that they might the more nicely observe a strictness in Morals. Then it was, that the *Affyrian Monarchy* had it's Church-Government, as well, as (in succeeding Ages) the *Persian, Græcian, Roman, and all other Heathen* Governments had their's: which have been composed of Persons of more than vulgar Capacities, capable to continue a probable History of a World to come, to make acquaintance with its imaginary Inhabitants, and to become Mediators betwixt them and their fellow Citizens, whom they

they always managed both for the Glory of their Gods, and for their own private Advantage. Then was it the Custom to Sacrifice, not only Beasts, but Men, Women, and Children, and to impose all the Idolatry imaginable upon the World, by their *Oracles*; the Cheat of which hath been often discovered, as particularly, by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who shewed the Inhabitants of that Town, the hollow Statues into which the Priests privately crept to give their Responses.

Of all the *Pagan* Church-Governments, we know most of that of the *Romans*.

Romulus and his Successor *Numa Pompilius* being made sensible by their own Experience, and that of their Neighbours, how great a Ligament of Government political Religion was, took care to Institute several Orders of Priests, to whom all their Subjects might pay Honour, and by whom they were to be instructed, how to pray, what Sacrifices, what Vowes, what Gifts would be acceptable to the Gods; and in a word, in all the Ceremonies

monies made use of in Divine Service.

The *Pontifices* of all the Priests, seems to have had the greatest share of Church-Government ; for *Cicero* (in his *Oration to them*) tells them, that the Honour and Safety of the Common Wealth, the Liberty of the People, the Houses and Fortunes of the Citizens, and the very Gods themselves were all entrusted to their Care, and depended wholly on their Wisdom and Management.

The *Superintendent* of the *Pontifices*, was one of the Most honourable Offices in the Common Wealth ; upon which account all the Emperors, for their own Interest, and after the Example of *Julius Caesar*, either took the Name of *Pontifex Maximus*, or actually discharged the Office themselves ; and even the Christian Emperors retained the Title, till *Gratian* refused it.

The *Jews* were the only People on Earth that had continued to them the Knowledge of the true GOD, who was pleased to reveal his Will from time to time to their Fore-fathers, commanding *Moses* his Servant to give them his *Laws*, and to Model a Church-Government,

ment, to the Members of which were to be committed the *Divine Oracles*.

This was the State of the *Jews*, whilst the wise *Governours* of all othr *Nations*, such as *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, and *Numa Pompilius*, were sensible of the use of *Religion*; but were not able to become acquainted with the true *God* for want of *Revelation*: So that their *Opinions* about His *Will* and *Nature*, and those of all the *Ancient Philosophers* have been so many ridiculous *Whimsies*.

But no sooner did the *Son of GOD* appear, (who was the *Original and Model of all Perfection*) than he was to be a *Light to the wholeWorld*; and a great part of the *Jewish Laws* was to lose their *Authority*. For he knowing the *Will of God his Father*, better than *Moses*, was pleased to reveal ^{to} all *Nations*, that it was no longer the design of *God* to make a *distinction* betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*; but that he would embrace every *Nation*, that would believe in him, and obey his *Laws*. At *Thirty* years of *Age* he began to establish his most excellent *Religion*, meeting with all the *Opposition* imaginable from the *whole World*. Objection mis Doct-
rine

Jews, as an invader of their Fundamental Laws; He was Persecuted, and followed all his life with Assaulls of Malice and Cruelty; His Credit was Slandered, his Doctrine slighted; and at last he was put to Death with all sort of Torture and Disgrace. His only Companions upon Earth was a parcel of poor People, whom he called his Disciples, and to whom he taught a Doctrine, that called men from their Lusts and Pleasures; that offered Violence to their Natural Inclinations; That required the greatest strictness of Life; That revealed Truths above the reach of Natural Comprehension, and that obliged Men to take up a Cross, to follow the Example of a Crucified Saviour, in expectation of an invisible World.

This Jesus then is of more value to us, than e're Moses was to the Jews; he being our Law-giver, our God, and our Saviour, who hath given Laws to all those, who will believe and acknowledge his Authority.

Our Saviour, when he came into the World, as he was God, so was he Omnipotent, knew what Oppotion his Doctrine

trine would meet with, and with what Misfortunes his Followers would be dogged. He came not to a particular People, as *Moses* did to the *Jews*, of whose obedience he was assured; but he came to the People of the habitable Earth, to teach them the way to Heaven by *Repentance* and *Faith*. At his first Arrival he found no *Church*, but the *Jewish*, which was to vanish at his Appearance: Therefore he laid the Foundation of one himself, by Preaching and working *Miracles*, and by triumphing on the *Cross* over Ignorance and Wickedness, which had ruled all the *Heathens*.

After his Ascension into Heaven, on the day of *Pentecost*, he sent down the *Holy Ghost* upon his *Apostles* and *Disciples*, who were assembled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them with the *Gift of Tongues*, and of working *Miracles*; Commissioning them to propagat his *Church* and *Kingdom*, thro' the whole World: Which accordingly they did, Preaching the *Gospel* first to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, many of them taking particular parts of the World, to make known the Joyful News of *Salvation*. Thus St. An-

Andrew Preached the Gospel in Scythia, St. Bartholomew in India, St. Matthew in Parthia, and St. John in the lesser Asia: They went from Town to Town, and from Village to Village, publishing the Blessed News of Immortality, and constituting Bishops and Deacons, the first Fruits of their Ministry, leaving them to govern, and to enlarge the particular Churches, over which they had placed them. Tertullian saith (*de Prescr. adverf. Haereti.*) That Clemens was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter, and Polycarp Bishop of Smirna by St. John.

Now, Let us enquire, whether our Saviour, or his Apostles after his Death, left any distinct Scheme of Government, to be followed by all particular Churches; which Scheme, if there be any, must be found in the Holy Scriptures, or in the Writings of the Fathers, who succeeded immediately to the Apostles; but if no Scheme of Church Government is to be found in either of them, it is very surprising, that ever since the Reformation in this Island, there have been two Parties which have set up for different Schemes of Church-Government, the one

called *Presbyterian*, and the other *Episcopal*, and that either of them hath been so zealous for establishing its Government, that nothing will please either of them, if its Government be not of *Divine Institution*; by which the one Party can damn the other.

But upon what grounds either of them can call it's Church Government *Jura Divina*, if it is not institute in every point by God, as the *Jewish Government* was, I cannot comprehend.

For *First*, That *Church Government* which is from *God*, must be revealed by him to his People some way or other; but no *Scheme* of *Church Government* hath as yet been revealed: Therefore all *Church Government* must be of *Humane Institution*.

That no *Scheme* of *Church Government* is yet revealed, is evident; because, there's none in all the *New Testament*, unless we are perswaded, that when we read the words *Bishop*, *Deacon*, *Diacons*, we have found the very individual *Scheme* of Government that was in use amongst the *Apostles*. For my part I understand no more of their *Church Govern-*

Government by reading these words, than one can understand of the Civil Government of Scotland, if he heard only of a President of Council, or of some Officers of State.

Secondly, If the *Apostles* had constituted a *Church Government*, after which we were obliged to model one, as if it were immediately from God; surely we must understand it in all its parts, otherwise we cannot follow it in all its *Form*; but the Practice of the *Apostles*, in constituting their *Church Government*, is but little known to us, therefore it's impossible for us to follow their Practice, in forming a *Church Government*. Nor do we follow at present the Practice of the *Apostles*, in as far as we know it, otherwise there should be no *Bishop* by virtue of a *Conge d'es lire*, nor should the *Presbyterian Government* want *Diaconesses*, and other Officers, which were in Use in the *Primitive Churches*; because by the same Authority we either add or diminish from the Practice of the *Apostles* in *Church Government* (if it be an Article of Faith) by the same Authority we can change their Practice altogether.

Lastly,

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Lastly, I cannot believe, that any particular Form of Church Government is prescribed to all particular Churches, otherwise we may reasonably suppose, that the *Apollles*, who have been at the pains to writ down all that is necessary to be believed, would not have omitted to leave it to Posterity.

Seeing then that we have no *Scheme* of Church-Government in the *Scripture*, where must we go next to prove either the *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian* Government to be of *Divine Institution*? I suppose it must be from the practice of the *Fathers* of the first Centuries; but if they were Men like unto our selves, capable of Error and Folly, I hope their practice will be of no more Authority, than they had reason on their side.

That the *Fathers* of the first Centuries were Men fallible like unto our selves may be proved by these two considerations.

First, They have erred in points of the greatest Consequence. *Justin Mar-*
tyr (the most ancient of all the *Fathers*, next to *Clemens Romanus*) was of Op-
nion, that the *Saints* should Reign a
Thou-

Thousand Years in Jerusalem, before the *Resurrection* should be accomplished: Which was the Opinion of the *Chiliasts*, condemned by all the *Orthodox*. *Irenæus* mantained (*Iren. contra Her.*) that our *Saviour* was above Fourty Years when he suffered Death, contrary to what we are taught by the *Evangelists*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* believed (*lib. 1. Strom.*) that the Angels fell in Love with the first Women, and that this Love transported them so far, as to make them indiscreetly to discover unto them many secrets, which they ought to have concealed. The reason, I suppose made *Honest Clemens* entertain such a Notion, was, that the Women in his days were more reserved in discourse, than they are at present. *Tertullian*; against all Reason, (*lib. 1. Adver. Marc.*) makes God subject to the same passions that we are subject to. And *Cyprian*, who was *Tertullian's* admirer, hath maintained many of his ridiculous Opinions.

Secondly, they have been at great variance amongst themselves, and maintained different Opinions of great moment. *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenæus* pro-

promise us the pleasures of a new *Salem* upon Earth, for a Thousand Years, whilst *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *St. Hierome* laught' at them for tools.

But grant that we should follow the practice of the Fathers in *Church-Government*, let us see what we can learn from their Writings.

To perswade us that there were many *Bishops* in one *Church*, we have both the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures* and of *Clemens Romanus* (Epist. 7. ad Cor.) Yet *Igauatius Tertullian* and *Cyprian* affirm, that there was and ought to be, but one *Bishop* in a *Church* at a time. Now whether to believe these Fathers or the *Holy Scriptures*, or to reconcile them both, by telling that the words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were used promiscuously, is left to the Discretion of every disputing Divine.

A whole *Church* did meet together to manage their own Affairs, when the Schism of *Felicissimus* was to be debated, it was to be done according to the Will of the People, and by the consent of the *Laity*, as *Cyprian* witnesseth in his 10. Epist. but either this was the Custom

of

of all the particular *Christian Churches*, or only that of *Carthage*; if it was the Universal Custom we don't know, and that it was the practice of the *Carthaginian Church*, doth not bind all other Churches to follow it.

If *Presbyters* had not the same Inherent Right to perform all the Ecclesiastical Offices, which the *Bishops* had, I don't understand why *Cyprian* being Exiled Writes (*Epist. 5.*) to his Clergy, exhorting and begging of them to discharge their own and his Office too; that so nothing might be wanting either to *Discipline* or *Diligence*. Nevertheless, according to the present practice, where *Episcopacy* is in fashion, no body can ordain but a *Bishop*.

Presbyters were not Essential to the Constitution of a Church, for *Tertullian* in his *Exhort. ad Castitatem*, sayeth, that where there are no *Presbyters*, the *Bishop* alone Administers the two *Sacraments*, of the Lord's Supper and Baptism. Yet how there can be a *Bishop* without *Presbyters* (if the word *Bishop* be taken in the sense it is used now a dayes) must be the same thing as if

a Man could be called the Father of a
 Family, who had none. 120
 — When Cyprian maketh an *Apology* to
 his Presbytery (at *Carthage* Council
 as he termeth it) for ordaining *Auro-
 lind a Leader*, without their consent; 120
 we do not know whether it be out of
 Civility to them, or out of his duty,
 the words are, *Ephiph. 8.* In ordinating
hunc clericum solemniter (as *ante consilere*,
ad meritum singulariter *hunc*
consilio ponderare, &c.) Where the Word
solemniter may be taken, as it is duty he
 ought to do so. 120

A Bishop was Elected both by the Cler-
 gy & Laity of his Parish, as we learn from
 the Death of Bishop *Anterus* in whose
 place *Palianus* was Elected at Rome, for,
 saith *Eusebius*, libd 6. c. 28. All the
 People met together in the Church to
 chuse a Successor, proposing several illu-
 strious and eminent Personages as fit for
 Office, whilst now one so much as
 thought on *Palianus* then present, till
 a Dove miraculously came and sat upon
 his head, in the same manner as the Ho-
 ly Ghost formerly descended on our Savi-
 our, and then all the People guided as
 god did

it were with one Divine Spirit, n^o dyed out with one Mind and Soul, that *Faliansus* was most worthy of the Bishoprick, and so straightways taking him, they placed him in the *Episcopal Throne*.

At present we know *Bishops* are chosen only by the *Clergy*, contrary to the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, as we have seen in the Example of *Faliansus*.

The People had power to depose their own *Bishops*, as the People of *Spain* did *Martialis* and *Basilides*, and who had their Proceedings ratified by an *African Council* assembled in the Year 458. *Cyprian Epist. 68/* But in what Cases, People could depose a *Bishop*, is not determined by Antiquity.

In the Primitive times, every *Christian* was considered both as a Member of the Universal Church, and as one of that particular Church where he lived; if therefore he erred in any Article of Faith, he was judged guilty of *Heresie*: And if he was at Variance with his *Bishop*, he was guilty only of *Schism*, and consequently deserved either the Name of *Heretick* or *Schismatick*. Yet it's clear, that at present one may be at Variance with his *Bishop*,

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Bishop, without being reputed Schismatick: For Example, if a particular Man in the Diocese of *York* should have a personal prejudice against his Bishop, and would not Communicat with him; altho in the time of *Cyprian*, he would have been guilty of Schism, had he been at Variance with his Bishop.

From this short account, and what more could be collected about the Practice of the Fathers, from their Writings, in Church Government, we can learn nothing but Titles, Names, and some general Rules observed in the Exercise of the Governments of particular Churches, which made up the Universal Church; therefore it must be an Error, to assert that either the Episcopal Government in *England*, or the Presbyterian in *Scotland*, as they are now constitute, was in fashion in the Primitive Ages.

What then in Reason ought to be affirmed for Truth about Church-Government, appears to be, That the Apostles, and those they appointed to preach the Law of their Master, living in times when they had no Civil Government to protect them, were persecuted and harassed

raised from place to place, having most of the Magistrats and Philosophers to be their declared Enemies; therefore it was their greatest business only to preach a Crucified Saviour, who was risen from Death and ascended up into Heaven, to be Mediator betwixt his Father and all People that would follow the Laws of his Gospel; which Laws they taught to all their Proselyts, which made up the Catholick Church. And that the Members of it might be the better instructed in the Mysteries of their Religion, it was necessary to have them erected into particular Churches or Societies, as the Circumstances of the Times would allow: Which accordingly they did, and regulated their outward Forms, that all things might be done in Order and Decency. Hence arose the necessity of Church Officers to keep all things right, and to put the Divine Laws in Execution.

The Bishop was the first Presbyter in Honour for his Apostolick Qualities amongst other Presbyters, who were so many new Apostles to be sent abroad to convert the Pagans, and to constitute new

new Churches, as they found Believers, after what forms were most convenient. And by such means were Churches erected at *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rand, Carrage, &c.* Which Churches, so long as they wanted the Protection of Civil Magistrats, so long did they keep a good Correspondence amongst themselves, having frequent Meetings to suppress all Heresies, which Meetings were called Councils.

Now, may we be of Opinion, that our Saviour did foresee that the Christian World would be divided into distinct secular Government, and church Government would have the order kept amongst the Men set apart for Divine Service, which was agreeable to his Constitution: For tho' particular Churches might have different Government; yet the Universal Church is not more dismembered, than is a Kingdom, who had different Countreys in Subjection, could be denied to be Master of them all; because that his Laws were not in Execution in one of them, by a Viceroy in another, by a few Noble Men; and in the Third, by a parcel of Commons.

To

To strengthen this Opinion, we know, That no sooner the *Roman* Emperours and their Subjects become Christians, but there was an Analogy betwixt their Civil and Ecclesiastical Governments: For the whole Empire being divided into Fourteen Diocesses, each of them comprehending several Provinces; and every province several Cities: Every City, as it had a temporal Magistrat for executing Justice, so was there also a Bishop, for Spiritual Order and Government. Every Province, as it had a Pro-consul, whose Seat was usually at the Metropolis; So there was in the same City an Arch-Bishop, or, Metropolitan. In every Diocess there was a *Vicarius*, who dwelt in the principal City of the Diocess, where all Imperial Edicts were published: There was also a Primate to equal him, and to whom the Determination of all differences of the Clergy did belong. And lastly, as the Fourteen Diocesses were ruled by four *Praetorian Prefects* in civil Matters; so were they governed in Church Affairs by Patriarchs, who were superior to Primats, by reason of the Dignity of these Cities, where

where they had their Sees fixed, as at Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But to what height Church-men can improve their Power, may be learned from the Patriarchs of Rome, who had once almost enslaved the whole Christian world, by their Supremacy, Purgatory, Indulgences, and Pardons, auricular Confessions and Cælibacy of the Clergy.

As there is a necessity of some Church-Government to be in every Commonwealth, that by its Discipline, its Members may be keep'd in duty, both to God, and to their fellow Subjects; So every Church-Government ought to sympathize with that Civil Government it meets with, to make up one Christian Society.

But to shew what Church and Civil Governments agree best together, let us take a short view of all them which are in use at present in the Christian world.

Tho' Man hath a Natural Inclination to Society, yet that which constitutes a Body Politick, is Confederation and a Consent of Governours and Governed; from which we have the different kinds of

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of Civil Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. And parallel to these, are three kinds of Church-Government, Hierarchy, Superintendency and Presbytry.

Monarchy is a Government that's vested in one single Person, who is absolute, and hath a Right of constituting and giving Laws to all in general, and to each in particular under his Dominion. To which agrees that Church-Government Hierarchy, composed of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. And of such two Governments was constitute the *Roman Empire*, in the time of *Constantine*.

Aristocracy is the Government of a few of the greatest power, and conform to it, is Superintendency: Which is a Church-Government, where a parcel of Members are all equal in power, and by the same are distinguished from the rest of the Clergy.

Democracy is a Government, in which the whole Body of the People hath some share; and to this is consonant Presbytry: Which is a Church-Government, where all the Clergy are equally concerned.

To none of the above-mentioned kinds of Civil Government, doth the Civil Governments of *Scotland* and *England* belong; which being both of the same Nature, I shall call them by one Name, a *Limited Monarchical Government*: Which is a Government that's manag'd by one Man, according to the Laws of the Society where he reigns; which Laws are made by him in *Conjunction* with his People: So that he hath his *Prerogatives*, and they their Properties; and such a Government hath the Advantage of all others which can degenerat into *Tyrannies*.

The Government of *Scotland* and *England* being a limited Monarchy, quite opposit to an absolute one; It follows, that some other kind of *Church*-Government must be more agreeable to it than *Hierarchy*, which agrees only with an absolute Monarchy: Because, the People having lodged so many *Prerogatives* with their King, as the power of declaring War, of making Peace; of sending Ambassadors, of making *Besigues* and *Treaties*; and of *Levying* of *Men* and *Arms* by *Sea* and *Land*; if

this King is ill-inclined, what wants he more but Money to change the very fundamental Laws of his Government, and to make Parliaments altogether useless ? which cannot be raised from the Subject without their consent, or, which is all one, without the consent of Parliament. Therefore the People ought to take particular care in choosing Men to be their Representatives in Parliament, that they be Men of Honour and Probity, whom the Monarch can noways influence to betray the Liberties of their Countrey. And surely it must succeed the better with it, the fewer Members of Parliament depend upon the King.

What power the Kings of Great Britain have had to Cajol Bishops, being constant Members of the Parliament, into a Compliace with their designs, the History of Past-times must declare.

Constantine, as he was the first Christian Emperor, so had he a great respect for the professors of that Religion. We read in his life, That he would not only regal its Teachers at his own Table, but that he never went a Journey without

out one of them along with him, & that, at the Council of *Nice*, so great was his Complaisance for Church-men, that he refused to sit down in their presence. The Clergy on the other hand being sensible of the Emperours Kindness, continue with him the old Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, by virtue of which, he had Right of Ecclesiastical Function : reserving for themselves all the Ministerial Offices. So Constantine was

Rex idem hominum, Phæbique Sacerdos.

A mutual good understanding was so cultivated amongst the succeeding Emperours and the Clergy, that they had several Laws made in their favour, (as may be seen in the Titles of the *Codex de Sacrosanctis Eccles: de Episc: & Cler:*) till the Bishops of *Rome*, taking the opportunity of the Division of the *Roman Empire*, being over-run by Barbarous Nations, and of the Ignorance of the times, did set up for it themselves, under the Specious Title of *Christ's Vicar*. And how far they carried their Authority with Temporal Princes for some Ages, is evident by the Insolence of *Hildebrand*; who rebelled against his lawful

Emperor *Henry* the fourth, depriving him of all that respect which was due unto him from a Bishop of *Rome*.

It hath been the Policy of the Papal Court, to keep the Clergy of every Common-wealth in a certain Hierarchy; That it might the more conveniently challenge a Supremacy over them; and to the end that they might depend absolutely upon their Interest, for to oppose all Temporal Princes, who durst do any thing in prejudice of the Holy See, by Excommunicating and depriving them of the Allegiance of their Subjects.

In such a Condition was both the Clergy of *England* and *Scotland*, in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth of *England*. Who, being a wise Prince and disengaged by the Pope in the Marriage of *Anna Bullen*, took the occasion of a Critical Minut to throw off the Popes Supremacy over his Clergy, and to assert it for himself, according to the Practice of the Kings of *England*. And finding that his Clergy was satisfied with the change, he continued the Ancient Popish Hierarchy, making the Bishops

Bishops of his Kingdom capable of the greatest Civil Employments in it.

If the Reformation had begun in *Scotland* with publick Authority, as it did in *England*, I doubt not but Episcopacy had been continued there, in place of that Church Government introduced by *Knox* and others, after the *Geneva* Model. Because Supreme Civil Powers know how much it is their Interest, to be of the Clergies side: And that it is easier to have a few Church Men to manage, than a Multitude. Of this King *James* is an Example, who was not only a great Favourer of the Clergy, but thought it his Interest, so soon as he was sole Monarch of this whole Island, to establish Episcopacy in *Scotland*, according to that Maxim, *No Bishop, No King*.

Now let us see what great Feats Bishops have done, in the Management of the *British* Affairs, and accordingly we should make our Judgment concerning the Agreeableness of Episcopacy and our Government, which is a Limited Monarchy.

In the Reign of King *James* the First of *Great-Britain*, there were Bishops,

no doubt, who complyed with him in every Counsel, that was for the Dishonour of his Crown: For we find the Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, in his Sermon at King *James* his Funeral (either to flatter his Successor, or, to impose upon the World) making a parallel betwixt him and King *Solomon*, his Text being *1 King. 11. 41, 42, 43.* Now either that Bishop was perswaded of the Verity of what he preached, or not; If he was perswaded, that King *James* was the *Solomon* of his Age, then surely, he could not refuse to go along with him in all his Counsels: And if he preached contrary to what was his Opinion, then, he was capable at Command to be an *Haickey Courtier*.

In King *Charles* the First's time, it was Bishop *Laud*, and others, that occasioned all the Misfortunes that befel that Prince, both unhappy in his Council, and in his Opiniatritie.

In King *Charles* the Second's Reign, we never heard of any of his Ecclesiastical Counsellors, that e're Discourted themselves, for dissuading him from his Effeminate Way of Living, or from following

on

too

too much *French Counsel*. On the contrary, we know, that nothing was more preached up, than Passive Obedience, founded on the Prerogatives of the Kings of *Israel*, as if the Laws of *Moses* had been calculat for our Kings: And, That nothing was more tickling to the Bishops, than the Oppression of their Fellow Subjects of the Presbyterian Perswasion.

In the time of the late King *James*, It is true, there were some Bishops in *England*, who stood for their Religion, in Opposition of Popery; yet the World knows, how well natur'd the Bishops of *Scotland* were upon that Point.

And in this present Reign, we all know, how that Bishops of *England*, did concur to ratifie Proclamations issued out against the Scots in the *West-Indies*, which were of a Nature, both below the Meckness of Christianity, and the Generosity of the *English Nation*.

Wise Governments have alwayes had a very mean Opinion of Church-Mens Politicks, as particularly that of *Venice*; for whenever any thing occurs of great Moment there, to be debated in the Senat;

nat; before any Suffrage passeth, they cause Proclamation to be made for all Priests to retire.

It is likewise remarkable, That he who is called the Divine of the State, is chosen commonly such an one, who is more Politician, than Bigot in Religion. And of such a Character was Father *Pedro Paulo*, who wrote the History of the Council of *Trent*.

Too much Learning or Wisdom seldom agree together; because, for the most part, too Learned Men are meer Schollars, (& such were most of the Bishops of *England*) which of all Men are the most dangerous when they espouse a Party: For, both their Learning and Zeal can concur together, to make *Black* seem *White*, or *White* *Black*, and to impose what Opinions they please upon the well meaning People. Now when such Men are perpetual Members of Parliament, who have Dependence upon a Limited Monarch, by virtue of a *Conge d'es Lire*, the Laick Subjects cannot be circumspect enough about their Liberties:

It's known, that in the time of Popery, the Pride and Ambition of the Clergy was

was a Curse to that Civil Government, where they had any meddling, exalting, themselves always Arbitrarily and Tyrannically, and committing the greatest Sociolisms in Politicks. And we may observe for the most part, that the Clergy of our Religion, who have concerned themselves with Worldly Affairs, have been the greatest Promoters of Civil Distempers, that have shaken the Foundations either of Church or State: And the very Trumpets which have sounded to Popular Furies, Martial Alarms, and never better will beset Church-Men, when they act without their own Sphere.

What should move the *English* to car-
ries Church-Men for Counsellors and
Members of Parliament, I cannot com-
prehend; for were their Bishops educat-
ed as the Cardinals are, (who are better
acquainted with this World, than that
to come) we might hope for as great
an Essay of their Wit in State-Affairs,
as ever Cardinal *Richelieu*, or, Cardinal
Mazarine did shew to the World. But
on the contrary, they know more of
the World to come, and are educated

together according their Charters of Church-Ment. Nor do I understand what is the Reason, that there's so just a Proportion, betwixt the Living of a Nobleman, and a Peasant, among the English Laicks. And so great a Disproportion betwixt a Bishop and a Twenty-Pound Curat, among their Ecclesiasticks. For surely it is unjust, that the Curat should be preaching the Gospel, and Starving at the same time; Whilste his Bishop is driving to Court with a Coach and six Horses, to make an handsome Eng to his Temporal Lord.

I now protest, That the Liberty I take of writing after this manner, may not give Offence to the Clergy of any Church, nor that I may meet with the common Fate of Reconcilers, to have Blows for my Pains; being, I'm of no Party, But a Lover of that Church Government, which sympathizes best with the Civil Government it is joyn'd with. So that, if I were Subject to an Absolute Monarch, I should esteem Episcopacy as most agreeable to his Government; But whilst I live in Scotland or England, I must love that Church Government,

vermin, which is least dangerous to the Peoples Liberties. I leave it therefore to the Judgment of every Unbiased Laick to determine, if Presbytery, or Superintendency be not more convenient for the People of a Limited Monarchy, than Episcopacy, as it is now established in England, and less capable to comply with an Ambitious Prince, for the undermining the Fundamental Laws of his Kingdom, after the Example of the Danish Clergy, which were the Instruments of making their Kings Absolute, to the utter Ruine of all their Ancient Nobility.

I conclude with this following Character, which I wish every Church-Man might merit.

One who is delivered of the Propos-
sitions and Prejudices of Complexion,
Education and Implicit Authority, know-
ing that all Mankind are puzzled even in
the Search of the most obvious things.
One, who can distinguish between the
true Articles of Faith, and the pitiful
senseless Trifles of Swiming Brains.
One who knows, That the Love of
God is not Fondness, nor his Justice

Cruelty, and that God acts not by meer Arbitrary Will, but by the Perioditions of his own Nature. One, who not forgetting to do Good Works, endeavours to go to Heaven only by the Merits of Christ. One, whose Zeal never exceeds his Reason. One, who abounds with Charity, Humility and Meekness. One, who urges Religion from all Fantastick and Unintelligible Mumbo, and reduces it to its Native Plainness and Simplicity. One, who understands himself when he Prays, or Preaches. And lastly, One, who followeth in Living, as near as possible, the Practice of the Apostles.

Most happy would that People be, who lived with a Church-Government, composed of Members of the foresaid Character: For surely, Vice and Atheism should be banished, nor could Priest-Craft, or Knavery, have any place amongst them.

ESSAY

Concerning The
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
AND
SCOTLAND
into one MONARCHY

OF Old, this Island of Great Britain was divided into several distinct Governments, amongst which there have been many bloody and fatal Struggles, in Defence of their respective Interests and Liberties. And no doubt, but, untill this Day, it had continued a Theater of Cruelty and Barbarity, if all

all its Inhabitants had not been United in Subjection, by the happy Succession of King James the Sixth of Scotland, to the Crown of England, in the year 1603.

King James, who did not always prefer the Interests of his Kingdoms to his own private Ends, never gave a greater Testimony of his Affection to them, than in the year 1604; when he proposed to the English Parliament, an Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England: Which Motion was at first embraced with the general applause of both People, as the only Mean to extinguish the Memory of all former Animosities.

To bring that Union to a good issue, the Parliaments of both Nations, at his Majesties desire, did nominate Commissioners to meet at Westminster, which accordingly they did: and agreed on several Articles, to be presented to King and Parliaments for their Ratification. But in the year 1608, the English Parliament would approve only the Article for abolishing all Hostile Laws, that had been in use against either Nation,

time, before King James his arrival into England. It is to be observed, that

The Reason, I suppose, made England neglect that opportunity of uniting with Scotland, was, That either it was not sensible of the Advantages it might gain by such an Union (tho' the judicious Lord *Verulam* did endeavour to demonstrate them by his Grave Speech) or That the Parliament of England did suspect their new Monarch of having some other design, than the Interest of his Kingdoms by that Union, of which he was the first proposer.

King Charles the first, who was brave, Magnificent, and but too confident in adhering to ill Counsel, was most of his life harassed by his own Subjects, that he never had time to think upon that Union, which his Father could not finish. And Cromwell, who, after butchering of him, usurped his Power, never thought any further of the Interest of Britain, but to gratifie his own Ambition.

King Charles the Second, after his Restoration to his Kingdoms, had all the opportunity possible, that Ease and

Plenty

plenty could afford him, I too prbmted their mutual Happiness, did therefore propose an Union betwixt Scotland and England in the Year 1670 ; and did nominate for that end, several Commissioners under his great Seal, but all to no purpose ; because, such an Union could not sympathize with the Politicks of those days, which were to divide, after such manner, the People of the whole Island in Religion, and Interest, that by continually playing one party against another, His Majesty might be in a Condition to sway the Scepter in Peace, and to introduce into his Kingdoms any Religion suited best with his Humour.

2 And for King James, he was so little inclined to promot an Union, that the thoughts of another World did wholly extinguish any Concern he might have had, for advancing the interest of his Kingdoms in this.

3 His present Majesty hath done many great Actions, both for the welfare of his Kingdoms, and for his own Reputation ; yet, ther's nothing can contribute more to the Glory of his Family,

than

than Uniting the Kingdoms of Eng-
land and Scotland into one Monarchy :
So that when he distributes Justice ;
(both their Interests being the same)
none of them will have reason to com-
plain. He hath already several times
recommended an Union to the English
Parliament ; but it were so wish'd that His Majesty would be pleased to
ordain effectual Means to be used for
that end.

There's an Union already betwixt
both Nations in Language, Customs,
Religion, and in Subjection, which can-
not last, unless both Governments be unit-
ed into one Body Politick. And so Con-
sidering that there must be a great Zeal
and Frankness in the Members of both
Parliaments, That, all trifling and amus-
ing preliminary Articles being for-
got, Commissioners may be deputed
from them both, Men of Honour and
Probability, no Courtiers, but free of all
prejudice against either Nation, for the
better adjusting the two following Ar-
ticles.

The First is, That the Parliaments
in Name of both Kingdoms, may con-

sent to joyn together for making up one Parliament of Great Britain.

The Second is, That for the taking away all difference about Place, that may arise among the Nobility of both Kingdoms, let them be Marhalled interchangeably ; As for Example, First, The Eldest Duke of *England*, then the Eldest Duke of *Scotland*, and so on, until the Nobility of the whole Island be marked in one Catalogue, as Peers of the Kingdom of Great *Britain*.

If these two Articles can be agreed to, all danger of Uniting the two Kingdoms will be over, and there's no doubt but that all useful Laws can be made afterwards without the least stop, that are requisite for supporting this new moulded Empire.

But before I proceed to shew, what Laws would be useful ; I must remove some Objections, that the learned Sir *George Mackenzie* hath made against the Parliament of *Scotland*'s having power to agree to the foresaid two Articles, in his Observations upon King *James* his Act of Parliament concerning the Union ; and the Answers to his Objections may prevent

prevent the like, to be made against the power of the Parliament of *England* in the same case, being both Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, are of the same Nature.

The first Argument is, That the Members of the Scots Parliament for Shires and Burghs, are the same with us, That the *Procuratores Universitatis* are in the Civil Law; But the *Procuratores Universitatis* could not alienate the Rights of their Constituents, without a special Mandat for that effect (1.63. de pro.) Neither can the Parliament of *Scotland* alter the Fundamentals of their Constitution, without the Consent of their Constituents.

It's answered, That the Members for Shires and Burroughs are not the same with the *Procuratores Universitatis*; because, by virtue of their Commissions, they have absolute power to Vote for every point, which they think can contribute to the safety of the Nation. And they are bound only by Oath of Parliament, to Act as Men of Conscience, and not as Men who have particular Instructions from their Constituents. And it

was by that power they altered their Primitiue Constitution, by Voting out
4. Third State of Parliament, in the
Beginning of his present Majestys Reign.
Much rather can they, in the Numb of
their Constituents, agree with the Par-
liament of England, to the two foresaid
Articles, being they'll contribute so
much for their Advantage.

The second Argument is, That the
Commissioners for Shires & Burroughs
are only impowered to represent their
Constituents in the Parliament of Scot-
land; but if the Parliament of Scotland
be made a part of the Parliament of
Great Britain, the Parliament of Scot-
land can be said no longer to exist, and
consequently the Commissioners of all
the Members fall, till they be renewed,
empowering them to sit in the Parlia-
ment of Great Britain.

It's Answered, That by the Answer
to the first Argument, we see that the
Parliament of Scotland hath an absolute
power to agree to the foresaid Articles,
so that afterward they may ask new
Commissions from their respective Com-
missioners, as Lyes as Members of the
Parlia-

Parliament of Great Britain. And when both Nations are persuaded of the Advantages of an Union, there can be no impediment to have a

The third Argument is, That the Union of Parliaments requires the full Assent of the Members of both Parliaments; So that, if any Member dissent, The Union of both Parliaments must stop: Because, the Power of making Laws, and the Right to retain or resign Privileges, are two different things. The one is a Legislative Power, which is regulated by a Plurality of Voices: The other is founded upon Dominion and Property, and is not subject to Suffrage, no more than other Properties are.

It's Answered to this last Argument, That it's granted, the Property of any Member of a private Society cannot be taken away from him, without his Consent: As witnesseth the Civil Law, (L. 28. ff. Com. Divid.) The Rules are, *In parti, melior est Conditio prohibentis*: And, *In re communi, nemo Dominium suum quicquam facere potest, invito altero*. But here is understood, not a private Society, but a whole Kingdom; who being

being their own Masters, can dispose upon themselves and Properties, as they find it convenient for their Interest: And that Power is devolved upon their Representatives of Parliament.

Therefore if any small Number of People, or of Members of Parliament, oppose so good a Design, as the Union of both Nations, either the Plurality of Voices ought to determine them, according to the Fundamental Law of all Societies, or they should be obliged to shift for other Societies of Men.

Now, supposing that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms are joyn'd in one; and that its Members are empowered to make Laws for the Preservation of this New Government: Amongst many Laws that could be thought upon, these following seems necessary.

First, That the Titles of both Kingdoms be changed into that of *Great-Britain*.

*2d*y, That there be but one Imperial Crown.

*3d*y, That there be but one Set of Crown-Officers.

*4th*y, That

4^{ly}, That there be but one Great Seal.

5^{ly}, That as both Nations are one, so they may have both the same Priviledges of Trade: And that none of them be injured by this Law, let all Goods be taxed equally over the whole Island.

6^{ly}, That there be appointed, by the Parliament, a parcel of Lawyers of both Nations, for compiling a Body of Civil Law, out of the Volumes of the Municipal Laws of both Nations; and out of the Common Law, where they are deficient: Which Body of Civil Law shall be ratified by King and Parliament, to have the Force of all other Laws of both Nations. After which, all other Law-Books may be destroyed, according to the Example of the Emperor *Justinian*, when the Body of *Roman Law* was finish'd. And until such time that a Body of Law be compiled, each Kingdom may make use of its own Laws, without any hinderance to an Union. For its known, that till this day, *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Britaignie* and *Normandy*, tho' they are parts of the same Kingdom, yet their Laws are not of the same Coin.

7^{ly}, Be-

75. Being all Church-Government is indifferent, (as I have endeavoured to prove in the foregoing Essay) the King and Parliament may model one, that will be the most consonant to their Civil Government : To which, if any of the Clergy refuse to submit, let Swords be put in their hands, to determine a Church-Government among themselves ; for the Laicks of this Island have drawn too much Blood already upon that Subject, whilst the Clergy only have been amusing themselves with Disputes. If a Church-Government cannot be modelled that will please all Parties of Laicks, there needs be no Breach in the Union of Civil Government ; Because, by a Liberty of Conscience in Church-Government, Church-Affairs may be regulat without the least Confusion.

84. Let there be appointed by King and Parliament, a parcel of Divines and Lawyers, for collecting one Body of Canon Law out of the Canons of Councils, the Opinions of the Fathers, and from the Constitutions of both Churches of both Kingdoms, that were made since the Reformation : Which Body of

Canon

Canon-Law shall be ratified by King and Parliament, to have Force of all other Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

2dly, That Civil and Criminal Judicatures be established over the whole Island, in places, where the Parliament shall find convenient.

3dly, That there be Registers appointed in different places of the Island, for obstructing all false Conveyances of Estates.

Lastly, That the King have but one Privy Council, which for the more Dispatch of Business, can be divided into several standing Committees.

Now, before I shew the Advantages both Nations will gain by an Union, I will make this following Digression of their present States.

England abounds with Grains, Tin, Copper, Lead, Iron, Timber, and all Creatures which furnishes the Commodities of Cloath, Stuffs, Hides, Butter, Cheese, &c.

Scotland, being the most Northward part of the Island, cannot be expected to make so pleasant a Prospect to the Eye, as *England*; Yet it hath Sufficiency of

Grains, Flax, Wool, and vast number of Cattel, &c. It hath likewise innumerable Mines of Lead, Iron, &c.

Although the Nobility and Gentry of both Kingdoms are the same in Humor, and Conduct of Living; yet there is a great Disparity between the Common People, both as to Humor and Constitution of Body, by reason of their different way of Feeding. The *English* is Self-conceited, Lovers of their Belly, and daring: Whilst the *Scots* are patient, sober in Diet, and hath something of a Timorous Civility.

The Nature of the Civil Governments of both Kingdoms, is almost the same; each of them having its Parliament, to protect its Liberties.

The Number of Persons that have Suffrage in the *English* Parliament, besides twenty six Bishops, are either of Nobility or Commons.

The Nobility are

Dukes	:	:	:	:	:	:	17
Marquesses	:	:	:	:	:	:	3
Earles	:	:	:	:	:	:	72
Vilcounts	:	:	:	:	:	:	8
Barons	:	:	:	:	:	:	65
							<hr/>
							Sums 165

The Commons are

Commissioners for fourty Shires	:	80
For the twelve Counties of Wales	:	12
For twenty five Cities	:	54
For the eight Cinque-Ports	:	16
For the two Universities	:	04
For an hundred and eighty Burghs	:	332
And Burgesses for Wales	:	012
		<hr/>
		Sum 510

The Number of Persons that have
Duffrage in the Scots Parliament, are ei-
ther Nobility or Commons.

H 2 The

The Nobility are

Dukes	:	4
Marquesses	:	4
Earles	:	67
Viscounts	:	20
Barons	:	45
		<hr/>
		Sum 140

The Commons are

Commissioners for Shires	:	89
For Cities and for Burrows	:	65
		<hr/>
		Sum 154

The Nobility of Scotland, not bearing a Proportion to the English Nobility, conform to its Riches and Extent of Land, ought to be no Objection against an Union of Parliaments; Because, the Nobility of the whole Island, becoming Members of the same House, will all have the same Interest; And in a little time, by Extinction of Families, Cre-

Creation of New Ones, and by Change of Estates from one place to another, will be so shuffled, that it will be hard to know, *Which is Which.*

The number of the People of *England*, is calculat to be 5, 500, 000; and that of the People of *Scotland* to be 800, 000.

England at present is not above half Peopled, and, of any Countrey, it is in the least danger to be overstock't with People by reason of its Situation and goodness of Soil.

If *Scotland* were improved by Inclosing &c. it could entertain many more People, than it can at present, and in a short time triple its Land-Rental.

England with *Wales* contains 40, 000, 000, of Acres. The fourth part of them are Heath, Moors, Mountains, and Barren Ground.

Scotland with its Islands contains 24, 000, 000 Acres. Two Thirds of them are Moors, Mountains, and Barren Land.

Having now done with this Digrſion, let us next see, what Advantages will fall by an Union, first to *England*, secondly to *Scotland*.

secondly to Scotland, and thirdly to both
in Common when United.

The Advantages that England would reap by an Union, are

First, An Augmentation of People, for whatever People cannot finde Entertainment & Employment in Scotland, will chuse rather to go further South, and serve their own Country, than to Ramble abroad for a Livelihood: So that the Number of People, which dies by Excess and Debauch in and about London, or the Southern Provinces would be supplyed. And how profitable the Multitude of People is to a Country, that have Employment, and Entertainment for them, is inexpressible; Because, it's the People, that by their Labour and Industry, makes the Wealth and Power of every thriving Nation; Therefore, their increase should be promoted by Wise Conduct and Good Counsel.

2ly,

2dly, An Augmentation of Riches; for *England* being the larger and better Kingdom, *Scots* People would rather purchase Estates there, than in *Scotland*. In *England* would be the Metropolis of the whole Island, the Meeting place of Parliament, and of all the Chief Judicatures, thro' which the Treasure of the whole Body Politick must Circulate, as Blood thro' the Heart of a Natural Body.

3dly, As *Scotland* would Increase in Riches, it would be the more able for Taxes, and contributing force both at Sea and Land; for the Sustenance of the whole Body Politick: And consequently *England* would pay less and again more than at present, when it's obliged to support of it self, the whole Character of the King of Great-Britain.

Lastly, *England* would be secure within it self, which can never happen, so long as the Interests of *England* and *Scotland* are different. Nor is it to be expected, That the Union of Crowns can always last in the State they are in at present; Because, it makes too much for the Oppression of *Scotland*. And if it

it falls out, that the two Kingdoms are brought into the same Condition, that they were in, before King James his Succession to the Crown of *England*; what can be hop'd, but that all old Animosities will be renewed, to the mutual ruine of both Parties? And even let us suppose, that as *England* is every way Superior to *Scotland*, so it were able to reduce it as a conquered Province; yet *England* shall never gain so much that way, as by a fair Union. For the Country would be depopulat, rendered Inhabitable, and made a Prey to every Nation, that would be at the pains to invade it. Besides, it would cost *England* a great Expence of Blood and Treasure, to defeat so many Thousands of brave Men, that would stand up for the Defence of their Country and Liberties; and the same Army that had conquered them, perhaps may be induced at last, by an Ambitious King, to turn their Swords against their own Country-Men: So that by the same Army, the whole Island would hazard to undergo the same fate. We may therefore with a Demonstration believe that the only

safe

safe way, for England to conquer Scotland, is by a fair Union.

The Advantages, which Scotland will reap by an Union with England, are

FIRST, its Trade will increase, Having as free a Trade over the whole World, as England. Which would enable it, not only to contribute the more for the Safety of the Publick; but to improve all its Barren Ground, to the great Satisfaction and profit of Land-proprietors.

2^{dly}, Its Poor would no longer be a Charge to the Nation; Because, they could be employed in Manufactories and Fisheries.

3^{ly}, The Highlanders could be brought to forsake their Ancient Customs and Language, and to apply themselves to Virtue and Industry.

4^{ly}, Courtiers would no longer be a Grievance to the Nation; The

Mallis

Multitude of Nobility to the Gentry: nor them all together to the poor Husband-Man. Because, the Interest of the English Court would be that of Scotland, the English and Scott Commons could Ballance the Nobility of the whole Island, and the increase of Riches would hinder Estates from being often sold, and Rentals racked: So that the poor Husbandman would be encouraged, to improve his Estate, by a long Lease and easie Duty.

The Advantages that would accrue to the whole Island, supposing the Kingdoms

United, are

FIRST, It would be, in a Capacity to keep the Dutch Low, by managing the Herring, and all other Fisheries; that the British Subjects could undersell them in all Forreign Mercats, and in time bring them to the same Submission in Fishing, that they were in, about the beginning of the Reign of King James the first, It would likewise be able to encourage all Linnen Manufactories at home, &

put

put them in a Case of serving the whole Island: which would preserve a great deal of Treasure in it, that is spent upon that Commodity, in *Holland* and other Countries. of the 11 hours 7 min *Savilly*, It would be in a Capacity to oppose it self to *France*, in Defence either of it's own Interest, or of that of it's Allies; without being in danger of any Domestic Convulsions. All *Europe* is sensible at present, how formidable *France* is to its Neighbours; for its extent of Country, vastness of Treasure, number of Forces by Sea and Land, Bravery of Officers, and for the Wisdom and steady Counsel of its State-Ministers; That if ever Providence hath ordained her the Empire of *Europe*, it must be shortly after the Death of this King of *Spain*. For, according to a private Treaty with its Neighbours, it will be put in peaceable Possession of as many Territories of the *Spanish* Monarchy, as are able to command all the Mediterranean Trade; and no doubt, but it will be at the pains to seize the rest of it, at its own Conveniency, and even *Darien* too, which was

is much envied, when in the Possession
of the Scots: The Right of which
would belong to this whole Island, were
Scotland and England United: And
how much it were for the Interest of
Great-Britain, to be Master of that Island,
is obvious to every Coffee-house
Politician, in spight of all our more
refined Wits.

To oppose the Union of England and
Scotland, there are different Nations
out of different ends.

First, Most of our Popish Neigh-
bours, out of this Maxim, That when
People differ in Interest, they will never
trust one another upon point of Religion;
being obliged to transgress all its Rules
by Treachery, Cruelty, and other un-
lawful Means, in protecting, and ad-
vancing their worldly Interests. Now
how much the Church of Rome Glories
in seeing the Protestants destroy one
another, is best known to themselves.

Secondly, The Dutch will oppose it
with all their Power and Cunning, for
preventing the strengthening of this
whole Island, in Force and Riches, by
the ruining their Fisheries; which pro-
vides

vides them with *Sea-men and Money* ;
and the undoing their *Linen Manu-
factories at home*.

The *Dutch* of all People, understands
their Interest the best, and stumble least
at anything makes for their *Publick
Good* ; otherwise, why would they have
attempted the whole *Trade of the East-
Indies*, by the *Massacre of the English*
at *Amboina* ? Or the *Dominion of the
whole Seas*, after that the *Troubles of
England and Scotland* had disabled King
Charles the First from taking notice of
it, and that the *English Government*
was shaken in pieces, after its Altera-
tion in *now thirty Years* ?

Lastly, The *French* will oppose any
Union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*,
and rather than it should succeed, will
follow *Cardinal Richelieu's Practice*, in
corrupting Leading Men in both Nati-
ons, to foment Jealousies between them ;
or in hiring some *Mercenary English
Poet*, or *Historian*, to represent *Scot-
land*, with all the Rancour that ill Na-
ture and Ignorance can inspire in
them, *which* is almost beyond
and good of painting maner of *The
soft*

: V The French for many years have baulked nothing, that could raise their Monarchy above the Powers of their Neighbours; and nothing hath been more formidable to their Designs, than the Joint Force of the Islands of Great-Britain; when England alone had broke their Measures long ere now, and brought them to Reason, if it had not had Division at Home, occasioned so often by French Counsel. It's long since Philip de Comines said, That in his time, all the King of England's Ministers, and great Persons, had Penfions of France, and gave their Acquitances upon every Receipt, which were to be seen in the Chamber of Paris.

I shall now end this short Essay, having no other Design by it, than the Prosperity of Great-Britain; and hopes, that some Judicious Unbyassed Persons (as the Learned Doctor Davenant, who hath writ so many good Books for the Service of his Countrey) will be at the Pains, to handle this Subject in all its Particulars: That all Doubts being removed from the People of both Nations, there remain nothing to be done, but the

the Action of Uniting. And till they be convinced of the absolute Necessity of it, my Wish is, That *England* be outwitted in its Politicks by all its Neighbours, and cheated by its States-Men, into a fond Belief of its own Abilities: And that *Scotland* continue an oppressed Nation, by Courtiers and Publicans, and never have a State-Council, but of Mock-Politicians and Enemies to their Countrey.

SCOTLAND

Vis Unita Fortior:

A N

Vanilla Flavored

4. - *On the History of the
Provinces of Great Britain and Ire-
land, in Reference to the Propri-
etary and other Titles.*

India in a rapidly growing field for the Service, its Government will be greatly
helped to realize this quality in all its
officers and men. India, however, is
not the only country which has National
armies which are likely to be... 112

A N D

ESSAY

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

SCOTLAND

IT's observable, that there's a great Variety in Men, both as to their Bodies and Souls, conform to the different Situation of the Countries they inhabit; upon which account it is, that they differ so much in their Dispositions to Courage, Justice, Temperance, Wit and Goodness. And their Souls are yet more various than their Bodies, that there appears sometimes a greater difference betwixt some Men and others, than betwixt some Men and Beasts. And as there's a great Variety betwixt Men of different Clim's, in respect of their Souls and Bodies, so is there a great

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Disparity amongst Apprehensions and Understandings of the People of the same Country, proportionable to their Education; which is the Reason, that their Thoughts of things are not all of the same Reach and Justness.

There's no Society without its Members, amongst whom, as there is a Sub-Ordination of Understandings, so there's a Sub-Ordination of Power and Command, - proportionable to the different Stations they hold in that Society, whereof they are Members. And hence it is, That there are in every Kingdom (as it is a Society) People of all Characters, which taken all together, make up the Body Politick. Being then I'm to writ this Essay of the present State of Scotland, I will give a short View, both of its People, and of their Affairs, in the following Sections.

SECTION.

SECTION. I. Of the Education of Youth.

As the Strongest Bodies owe their Vigour, in a great Measure, to the first knitting of their Joynts, and the most stately Trees are beholding to the hand that first planted them in an agreeable Soil; So do Men owe, whatever Esteem they acquire in this World to their Education: The Impressions of which are strong, grow up with them from their Cradle, and accompany them to their very Graves. Hence is it, That the most wise and understanding Law-givers of different Nations thought it their noblest Work, to prescribe Rules for the early Institution of Youth.

The Number of Schools and Universities in *Scotland*, is enough to impose upon the World, that there are used in them all the reasonable Means for instructing of young People in Languages, Arts and Sciences; But when one comes to examine the Methods and Formalities

ties of Masters in Teaching, he will soon be undecieved.

To look into a Grammar-School, one will find an Assembly of Boys of different Capacities smuttering of Latin, one who hath spent four Years at School, another three, and a third more or less; yet there shall not be one of forty, who hath made the Proficiency in the Latin, that another Boy will do in any Modern Language with half a Years teaching. Surely there must be some Reason for this, that either proceeds from the Difficulty of that Language, or from some other Cause. But that the Latin is attainable in a short time, we have the Example of many young People, and likewise of *Accursius*, the Famous Lawyer, who was forty Years old, when he first studied Latin; Nevertheless he hath left some Volumes to the World in that Language.

The Causes therefore of Childrens slow Progress in the Latin, to me seem to be,

Fifth, The Formality and Affection of Parents putting their Children too young to School, before they have the

the Sense or Patience to apply themselves, or, without considering whether they design them for Employments that require no Knowledge of Latin.

Secondly, The wrong and pedantick Method Schoolmasters take in teaching their Scholars ; For how absurd is it, that they should teach them *Latin* in the same Tongue they do not understand ? and after a very tedious manner, charge their Memories with Rules and Precepts, which they no sooner learn, than they forget.

Next, To examine the way of Teaching in our Colledges, we will find that young Students below only half a year upon the Greek, (which is so useful a Language to the Learned) and allow three years to learn Error and Nonsense. For in place of Euclid's Elements, and a good System of Experimental Philosophy, they study large Volumes of Logicks and Metaphyficks ; which are fit only to subtilize their Brains, being the true Cob-web-learning of this World, soon wrought and soon forgot.

Soing

Seeing that the Education of Youth contributes so much to the making Men capable, either to serve themselves, or their Country; The Commissioners, appointed to visit Schools & Colledges, ought to take special Care both to oblige Masters to practise good Methods in Teaching, and to encourage most the learning of Mathematicks, and parts of Experimental Philosophy: Because its from them we have our Learned Physitians, Mechanicks, Sea-men & Engineers, which are of more value to the Publick, than thinking Men that are Learned only in Trifles, and who chuse the study of General Physicks and Metaphysicks for Disput's sake.

It were for the Advantage of this Nation, That no Boys be put to learn Latin, that are designed by their Parents or Friends, to be Merchants, Mechanics, or Husband-men; For how ridiculous is it, that they should consume so many years in learning a Language (which is forgot in one year, if not practised) and neglect the Study of their own Language, and other Modern Languages, Cyphering, and a fair hand of

be Writing, which are useful to all, Most according to their respective Employments: And it's the great Happiness of every Society, that each Member be dexterous in his own business and mind it only.

Cardinal du Perron was for suppressing in France many of its Universities, because they gave too much Occasion and Temptation to all sorts of People to become Smatterers of Learning. For tho' the knowledge of Letters is absolutely necessary in a Common-Wealth, yet they ought not to be profi-
tute to every Body without Distinction; For, if all the Inhabitants of a State were Learned, Trade would decay, Husbandry would no more be in fashion: And in their places would succeed, Disobedience, much Pride and Presump-
tion.

When we have so great a love here to the Civil Law, that every Gentle-
man that hath two Sons, is sure to de-
sign one to be a Lawyer from his very
Cradle; I wish therefore, That means
were fall'n on, to Erect Proscillions of
it in all our Universities: And that
En-
-
Bishops

Encouragements were given to Learned CHURCH, to set up amongst us, which would keep in the Nation much Money. And Students, that have no Inclination to Travel, may profit here as well as in *Holland* or *France*, and preserve a third part, or half of their Patrimonies, they would have spent abroad. Nor is there any hazard that such Professions will over-charge the Honourable Faculty of Lawyers, with too many Members, being that humour of following the LAW will grow, only as People find, that there's more Business than Advocates. Which, at present, is not the Misfortune of Scotland.

The most reasonable way to provide a Fund for the Professors of LAW, is out of the BISHOPS RENTS; so as there are four Universities in this Kingdom, there may be a Profession of Civil LAW at every one of them: Who ought to have a Salary not under 200 £ per annum, to make up their small Number of Scholars, and to enable them to make their study their whole business. Were it not then more for the Honour and Advantage of this Nation, that BISHOPS

Bishopseship Devise is applied, so farre
thats in Peffume and other Unis with
whatsoe verer to the wisdom of the
Nation in this voyage to the
longe Muses and other Inventions con-

cerning theire shire shewill the leada Money
tellest prouesse shire shewill the leada Money

Tunne, Wood, I. & C. W. with
Counseil of the Countrymen, and
given to the Peopler of theire shire

THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND v. the
greate and greatest Bulk of the Body
Politick of England in their Assembly to the
King and his selfe, that this Kingdom

can other becalme Rich, Powerty, or
Happie. To consider wherfore
particularly, theire shewill the leada
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
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theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

theire shewill the leada men
Menchams, Merchamis, and Housamis;

L. 1. For

Fortunes, be it in any Gentleman applies himself, but some younger Brother, that hath a Stock of 3000 or 4000 ~~lib~~ ~~sterl~~: which he Employeth in bringing home Wines and other superfluous Commodities, that exhaust the ready Money that's brought into the Kingdom by its Linen, Wool, Lead, Fish, &c. Which Commodities, when sold, that must given to the buyer of them; and in stead of a ready Return to the Merchant of his stock and profit, for buying new Commodities, he must consume them both in Expectation, by Eating and Drunken. It were then advantageous for young Merchants, that they would employ most of their Stock in home Manufactories and Fisheries, and in every Commodity that can make the Export of this Kingdom considerable; So that Money being kept at home, the return for their Exports will be more frequent, in Ease in every trading Nation, & Merchants of a small Stock grows Rich, by frequent buying of Goods, and receiving a quick return for them, when sold, either in Credit Goods, or ready Money.

Secondly,

Secondly, So soon as a Merchant hath scrap'd together a piece of Money, perhaps to the value of 1000. or 5000. £. Scars lost instead of employing it for promoting Trade, or by projecting any new thing, that may be serviceable to his Country, and to the augmenting of his Stock, nothing will satisfy him, but the laying of it out upon a Land Estate, for having the Honour to make his Son a Laird, that is, an idle Person, who can find out as many Methods in spending his Father's Money, as he had of gaining it.

Lastly, Our Gentlemen's Sons, who are bred Merchants, do not live frugally and proportionably to their gain, after the example of the Dutch, to whom one Pease saved is so much Profit.

So many are the Abuses and Blunders that are committed in the Trade of this Nation, by particular Men's pressing their Interest and Humours to the Publick Good; That to retrieve them from that Vice, and to bring the Trade of the Nation to any Proposition with that of our Neighbours, there remains

but one Expedient. That is, The
 establisht Council of Trade, which
 may be of such a Constitution, that by
 Conspiring Manufactories and Factories
 may be encouraged, and poor employed,
 the Importation of Wool Rop'd, Law-
 ting'd, divided uniformly among the Mer-
 chants, the Cost of Money lowered,
 and the price of Wools so regulated, that
 the Poor be not sensible of their Dearness
 should want, nor the Rich of their
 cheapness in good ones. Therefore,
 it is reasonable, how much this Na-
 tion would be obliged to any person
 would contrive a good and rational
 Scheme of Constitution for such a Coun-
 cil, and to that Parliament that would
 give it a Being.

But because such a Council cannot be
 established of a sudden, let all the No-
 bility and Gentry of this Nation, in
 the mean time encourage Manufactur-
 ries and Trade by their Frugality, and
 industry, according to the Rule which
 was lately invented by a parcel of good
 Countrymen. Because, People are
 more zealous in observing anything, to
 which they personally Promise, and of
 which they personally Profit, and whose
 per

whose Reasonableness they are perswaded. Than they are of Sumpctuary Laws, which either they never hear of, or are suffered to forget for fault of due Execution.

Scotland at present, ought to be considered as a Man that hath spent most of his Estate in Trifles and idlenes, and that hath no other Means left him, but Pinche and good Conduct, for the future.

The second kind of Commons to be considered are the Mechanicks, which are Men both capable of Invention and Application; therefore no doubt, did Trade flourish, there would be no necessity of bringing home so many manufactured things, as at present. And that every Scots-man might be furnished at home with all sort of Household Furniture, all kind of Arms, and every thing Humane Ease or Fancy requires.

The third kind of Commons are the Husband-men, which in my Opinion are the most miserable of all our Commons; and I believe, we have learned that Method of oppressing our Peasants, from the French, amongst many other of their good Commons.

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The reason of this Oppression proceeds from small Farms and high-valued Duties. For the Poverty of this Nation, and the smallness of Trade does occasion, That Land-Estates are frequently shifted from hand to hand, the present Masters making all they can, so long as they keep Possession of them: And are sure to rack every Tenant in his Duty, when they are disposed to sell them, for drawing the greater Price from the Buyers. Who so soon as they are Masters of their new Purchases, are not at the Pains to consider the Nature of their Soils, whether they are capable to produce both their Duties and a Livelihood to the Husband-men; but go on after such a manner, that in few Years nothing will answer their Tenents, Arrears, but the seizing of all they have, and turning them a begging with a numerous Family. Which is an injury not only done to the poor Tenents, but to the People, who must provide for their Sustenance by Charity.

As Husbandry is the greatest Riches of this State, so it ought to contribute with all its power to maintain it, and provide,

provide, that all Townschads for it's Im-
provement, be put to due Execution, and
so it is therefore requisite, that there were
appointed, by Act of Parliament, some
judicious Gentlemen of every County,
to be chosen annually by Land Proprie-
tors of 40 Pounds Sterling a Year, and
above; who should have power to dec-
ide all Controversies arising betwixo
Master and Tenant, (for it is not just,
that the Master should be both Judge
and Party, as it often happens in Barons
Courts,) and to inquire into the Rental
of every Heritage: That so they may
provide, that no Farms be over-valued,
according to the Caprice of the Master,
when he gives them leases: And such
an Inquisition would be no imposition
on Gentlemen, because, they would be
only hindered from abusing their own
to the prejudice of the Publick: Accord-
ing to that Maxim of Law, *Reipublicæ
interest, ne quis re sua male statur.*

And it would be the Advantage of the
Master, not only to set reasonable Du-
ties on his Farms, whereby the Husband-
man may be both able and encouraged
to improve his Estate, by all kinds of
Inclu-

Inclofure of his discourse, is so perettivous
 his Estate into his fow Lands, as he can
 conveniently do. For, his Farm, that pays
 20. Pounds per Annum to her, y bathes great
 q Family to entertaine more. Farm that
 pays 40. Pounds & retaines her, be that
 payeth the 20. Pounds but never been so
 good in Cales, either to pay his Master,
 or to cultiuate his Farmes as he that pays
 eth them 40. Pounds, who hath not only
 double his Profit, but likewise, as small
 a Family to entertaine. in 20. years before
 ISA: Gentleman then, that would take
 reasonable Methods to improve his Lands
 Elizab, y ought never to heighten his Ex-
 pents, but proportionably to the improve-
 ment of their Farms. Whiche in a few
 Years, could be fitly improv'd, that the
 Rental of his Estate can be doubled,
 without Hazard of making any Ruge-
 gare. to the Prejudice of the Land-
 lord, or to elise Mysery to her selfe, Recompence
 done up. People
 And it would be the Advantage of the
 Master, not only to let lesse Land, but
 to let it at a higher Rate. The Husband-
 man, that is, master of this Estate
 with all his friends to
 provide.

SECTION. III.

Of the Clergy.

The first Foundation of the Happiness of a State, is the Establishment of the Reign of God, to whose immediat Servants (who are the Clergy) we owe all the Honour and Respect, the Love of Religion can inspire into us; provided, they are distinguishable from other People, by the Character of their Office, which is composed of Christian Virtues: Such as Innocence of Life, Soundnes of Doctrine in things essential to Salvation, and Love and Charity to all Men. And by these Virtues it was, that the first Preachers of the Gospel did gain Credit to the Christian Religion, from the most obstinate Heathen Philosophers.

The most of the Clergy of Scotland are Men of mean Extraction, and owe to their Education, their Opiniarritie in things indifferent: For what must be expected from Men, that never read any Authors, but those that make for that Party, their

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Fathers

Fathers or Friends have design'd them to follow, but that they will Dispute for it, so long as conveniently they can? And when ever Reason fails them, they'll protect it with all the Passions and Impertinencies imaginable. And hence is the Reason, that most part of the Divines, that are educat in the Northern Universities, amongst the Northern Gentry, are inclined to the Episcopal Government: Whilst, many of those, that are educat in the Southern Universities, are inclined to the Presbyterian.

It's strange that Men have been so extravagant, and made such Stirs in this World, about the things of another, that instead of making us happy here, as well as hereafter; by following the Fundamental Rule of Christian Religion, to *Love the Lord our God with all our Heartes and our Neighbours as our Selves*: We have only practised a Rule much contrary, to hate and destroy our Neighbour, for Zeal to God's Worship. Which no doubt hath given Occasion to Unthinking Men, frequently to let pass for good Coin, this Saying; *Fallere vis Plerumque Finge Dignum*. TO THE END OF THE PAGE

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Was it not sufficient, That, by the Reformation, most of the People of this Kingdom have ben brought to the true Knowledge of the Christian Religion? What then hath occasioned the one half of the Reformed so to separat from the other, in the mutual Duty of Love and Charity, which both the same Countrey and Religion obliged them to observe? Or, why hath this Disease of Church-Government so affected this Kingdom, as to destroy its natural Force, to ruine all Prospect of Trade, to give so often Temptation to our Kings to encroach upon our Liberties, and to fill the Learned World, with many useles Volumes and hundreds of ridiculous Pamphlets.

In Scotland, the Religion, before the Reformation, was that of *Rome*; the Care and Pains of whose Priests were spent in iolarging their Wealth and Authority, and not in informing the Minds of the People in Piety and Honesty.

That Religion was so adornd with Gaudy Ceremonies, that the Splendor and Pomp of them served only to amuse the Minds of the Common People, who, like Men in an Amazement or Wonder,

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could never recollect themselves, for examining which was the true Religion. Its Priests did challenge the Remission of Sins ; and took the Liberty both to number and to tax them ; so that, if the Party Confessing was Rich, *Paradise* did go at a great rate : And if the Party was Poor, the Priests did exercise their Authority, with the greater Severity. It hath been a great Advantage to the *Romish* Clergy, that they had the Wit to invent the Mass ; for, who can forbear the paying a profound respect to them, that by a Whisper can produce so *Vertebrate* a Victim ? The number of the Sacraments was invented for Priests, to squeeze the Pockets of the Laicks, and Good Works to be a Spur, to excite their Ambitious Piety, to enrich the Church. Purgatory was invented to make separar Souls a Merchandable Commoditie, and the Invocation of Saints, to increase the Authority of the Clergy, who, by their Suffrage, could advance any Body they pleased, to the Court of Heaven.

But, at present, to give the *Romish* Hierarchy its due, since the Heat and Defecti-

Defection of the first Reformers was over, it hath so recollected the Remains of its broken Forces, with Care and Industry, and managed its Affairs with so much Subtilty, that if the Reformed do not lay aside all their Trifling Disputes about Church-Government, &c. It may happen, that sometime or other, (without a Miracle) they may lose their Ground, which they have maintained so long with Expence of much Blood.

That the Kingdom may be the better served with Judicious and Learned Ministers, it's necessary that, all small Salaries be Augmented, to preserve them from the Temptation of Poverty; and that there may be Inspectors appointed for all the Universities of this Nation, who shall have power to Nominate Students to study Theology: And that none be admitted to follow the Ministry, but those that are appointed by them. And by such a Method, this Church will not have the Misfortune to be pestered with Blockheads, nor the Civil Government to be deprived of good Men, whom Nature hath ordained to be Mechanicks, or Husbandmen.

SECTI-

SECTION IV.**Of the Nobility and Gentry.**

The Nobility and Gentry are the best Blood and Spirits of any body Politick, and ought to be respected as the preservers of its Life and Vigor. For, its their duty to maintain Piety and Justice, to support their Country with their Wealth and Sword, to protect the poor from the Insolence of Oppressors, and to follow Virtue and Honour, as the only Badge capable to distinguish them from the rest of their fellow Subjects.

The Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, have always had the Reputation of brave Men, and good Scholars, nor ought it to be otherwise; seeing they have all the Education this Country can afford, and the most of them have likewise the advantage of Travelling abroad, to learn any thing that is capable to improve their Knowledge.

ledge in Men or Things. But now a-days, for want of Business to apply themselves, they either lose the fruits of their Education, by Law-Suits, or by reading a *Horat* or *Juvenal*, or, by smothering them altogether in a Bottle.

But how great an Obligation lies upon them to apply themselves, at present, to support their poor Country, and to sacrifice to the Publick Good all Misunderstandings occasioned amongst them, either by Religion or Ambition, appears from these following Considerations.

First, they ought to meddle with Church-Government, no further than it affects the Civil Government, or tends to give the Supream Power an Opportunity to encroach upon their Liberties: Therefore, they ought all to protect that Church Government, which makes most for their secular Advantages, and encourages least the Clergy in Luxurie or Ambition. And of such Qualities is the Presbyterian Church-Government here established by Law.

Secondly, "The Nobility and Gentry are the Springs and Wheels by which all the Affairs of this Nation move, and with-

without their Concurrence; no good or bad Law can be made; no King can encroach upon the Priviledges of the Subject; Nor no Revolution of Government can happen to the Kingdom; Therefore they ought to let pass no Law in Parliament, which is not for the Interest of their Country, nor quit any Priviledge that may give occasion to their Successors to Complain of their Folly, or Injustice; Nor ought they to endeavour any Revolution of Government, which is not with a Demonstration for their Countries benefit.

Thirdly, They have most of all the Treasure of this Kingdom amongst them; Therefore, it's their Duty to improve their Estates by all the means, that Art or Industry can suggest unto them. And to promot Trade, by encouraging Manufactories and Fisheries with their Money. For, suppose a Gentleman hath Five Hundred Pound Sterline free Rent *per annum*; what is it, for him to employ a 1000*l. sterl.* for a Stock in Trade? And so proportionably

tionably to their Estates, may all Gentlemen employ Sums of Money.

Lastly, It's their Motion and Example that influence all other People of a meaner Character ; So that it may be justly said, that all the Advantages, or Misfortunes which have befall'n this Kingdom, are to be Attribute to the Conduct of its Nobility and Gentry. For had they always been of the same honest principles, designing nothing but the publick Good, how happy had this Nation been long ere now ? And how much regarded by all Europe ?

SECTION. V.

Of the King and Parliament.

AS every Natural Body is capable of certain intervals of Health and Sickness, so every Body Politick, and each of them requires it's Physician to remove every thing that's a let to the Operation of its Nature ; with this Difference, that a Natural Physician works both for a Livelyhood to himself,

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and for bringing his patient to the best
habite of Body his Art is Capable, whilst
a State Physician, in place of curing the
Body politick, (of which he hath the
Inspection and Management) forgets
to keep to its Fundamental Laws, which
are the true Rules of Politicks, and
follows his own Ambition and Fancies:
Which either destroy it altogether by
inward Convulsions, or change its
Nature so far, that its hardly to be
known for the same Body.

Every Body Politick hath its different
Physician, conform to the Nature of
its Constitution. An absolute Monarchy
hath its King, who is so much Master
of his Patient, that he can breath a
Vein, when he finds it suits best with
his Inclinations. A limited Monarchy
hath its Parliament for Physician, whose
chief business is to preserve a Symme-
trie betwixt the Body and Head, that
neither of them exceed its due bounds.

The Government of *Scotland* is a
limited Monarchy, by the Conduct of
whose Parliament both King and
Country can be happy. But, alas ! how
seldom does it happen, that the Mem-
bers

bers of that August Assembly, who are Men of different Educations, Tempers, Understandings, Offices, Employments, have all the same end in their View: which ought to be the Common Good and Honour of this Nation.

In one Kings Reign we find the Parliament encroaching upon his prerogative, and in the Reign of another, we see it is abjed to sacrifice to him their Priviledges: Examples of both are the Reigns of *Charles* the first and second: For, what necessity was there, to drive so hard after the year 1638, that their poor King became a Victim to his Enemies? Or to sink so far into Folly, that King *Charles* the second had it in his power to enroach upon the Liberties of this Nation to that height, that Oppression it self might have been palliat with the *jus Regium*.

The unstedly proceedings of Parliaments have given occasion to the greatest Wits, to condemn every thing of mixt Governments, and to lay down rules for bringing them under the absolute power of their Monarchs, which

hath been practised by most of the Princes of Europe, according to the different Circumstances and Humours of their Subjects.

The Kings of *France* Lewis 13th and 14th, after the Advice of Cardinal *Richelieu*, did ruine first their Nobility and Gentry, by wheedling them into posts of the Army, where they could squander away their Estates, to the end that they might depend upon the Court for a Livelyhood; and did so much harass the whole body of their People with Persecutions and Taxes, to make it for ever uncapable to struggle for Liberty.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* secured first their Clergy, next the Consciences of the Common People, and lastly did destroy most of the Ancient Families of their Nobility and Gentry.

The many Popular Furies which have raged in this Island, have no doubt been great Motives to our Kings, to appropriate us their Priviledges, as conveniently they could. King *James the First of Great-Britain* endeavoured to screw

screw his Prerogative, as far as the People would suffer him; for he thought nothing of Imprisoning Members of the *English* Parliament, or to issue out Proclamations, prohibiting his Subjects to talk of State Affairs: Tho' in the mean time, he was acting against the Interest of his Kingdoms. And the late King *James* seems to have had a great Itch after an absolute Power, when his introducing Popery was the principal Step could have been made for that end; because of the Multitude of Church-Men, and the Decay of Trade, which for the most part are unseparable from that Religion. But it would appear, that the Reason our Kings have so often been baulked of their Designs to teach their Subjects the Practical Rules of Passive Obedience, hath been the want of Money, and a powerful standing Army: Nevertheless they have attacqued us on our blind-side, which was to divide the People of this Kingdom amongst themselves, and then to espouse a Party, which was sufficient to plunge any Country into the greatest Misery, by leaving the Publick Good neglected; and nothing

nothing to be sought after, but Revenge and Interest.

King *William* came to this Island, when both its Affairs, and those of other Princes of *Europe* did require him; then was it, that an Occasion offered it self to the Scots, for putting their Countrey in a State of Thriving, and for curing all the Defects of its Government; But Providence so ordered it, that they were divided amongst themselves, and rendered uncapable to unite in Counsel for promoting the Publick Good. They were therefore lyable to be led away, whether the greatest Faction pleased; which Faction divided in Imagination the Spil of their Countrey, and shared all Places of Publick Trust amongst one another, before ever they were determined to offer the Crown to his present Majesty: Who is a Prince of an Illustrious Family, and merits to be ranked among the greatest Men of his time. I hope therefore, whatever Historian takes upon him, to celebrat and perpetuate to Posterity his Heroick Actions, will do him Justice, by giving a true and genuine Account to the World, both of his Virtues

Virtues and Vices: That the one may serve to set off the other, as dark Shadows do the best Pictures.

SECTION. VI.

That a mixt Government cannot increase in Wealth and Power, but by the Honesty and Wisdom of its Members of Parliament.

IF one were to play the Philosopher, he might, for Disput's sake, tell us, That the Subjects of all Governments are equally happy, provided they be not sensible of their present Misery; As for Example, that a *French-Peasant*, who hath coarse Bread to fill his Belly, and Canvas-Cloaths, and Wooden-Shoes to protect him from bad Weather, is as much obliged to Fortune, as an *English Farmer*, who can smoke his Pipe, and talk of Liberty and Property at random.

Yet

Yet if we lay aside the Theory, and consider the Practice of People, we will read in all Histories, that every Nation of *Europe*, which at this day hath no Vestiges of its ancient Government, has struggled with its Kings for Liberty, to the last Breath: An Instance of this are the *French*, who, ever since the Reign of *Louis the 11th*, have been attaqued in their Liberties, by succeeding Kings, and could never be forced to succumb, till the Reign of this present King: Who hath taken all Opportunities to execute *Cardinal Richelieu's* Political Testament, by arming his Popish Subjects against those of the Reform'd Religion, by accustoming his Peasants to exorbitant Taxes and Poverty, and by bringing the greatest of his Subjects to depend upon his Pleasure for a Livelyhood.

Is there any Man, that hath the good luck to be born a Subject to a Limited Monarch, who compar'd the Circumstances of one that liveth under a Tyrant with his own, but will bless his Stars, and acknowledge himself much happier in his Practice of Liberty, than Any

any Slave can be in its Shadow or Theory.

All Governments, by the Corruption of their Parts, are liable to many Convulsions, and even to be changed at last into Tyrannies, if the Nature of their Constitutions do not guard against them.

We therefore, in Scotland, are obliged to our Fore-Fathers, that have left us a Government which is Limited Monarchy and in which, the Prerogative of the Prince, and the Liberty of the People are so well regulat, that there seems nothing wanting; that may tend to the Happiness of either, but Honesty and Wisdom in the Members of Parliament. For Rome was never enslaved by its Princes, till the Senat delivered up its Priviledges to Julius Caesar: Who was then put in a Condition, to curb the Liberties of all the Unthinking People of the Roman Empire, with Forms and Names in place of wholesome Laws.

I may say, with Regret, that it hath been our Unhappiness, ever since the Restauration of King Charles the Second, that our Liberties have been exposed, by

the Unlucky Division of our Parliaments into two Factions: Whereof the one was called the Court-Faction, and the other, that of the Countrey.

The Court-Faction was a Party of Men, who, under Pretence of Zeal to the Service of their King, destroy'd their Countrey; by corrupting Members of Parliament, by dividing the Spoils of the Publick Treasury amongst them-selves and Minions, and neglecting every thing that could promote the Trade of this Nation, or provide a Livelihood to its Poor.

That Faction was composed of Men, who had different Motives to comply with Dishonest Practices: One out of Simplicity and good Nature, hoping, that by laying Taxes on his Countrey, he did his Majesty good Service. Another, out of an Inclination he had to be a Knave: And a third, out of a Desire to gain self, thinking it time enough to serve the Publick, when once he had served himself.

The Countrey-Faction was a parcel of Members of Parliament, who thought it their Duty to keep the Legislative Power untainted, to be Jealous of the Peoples

Peoples Liberties and Rights, and to be careful for the Publick Safty ; by watching over the Ministers of State, that they should not embezzle the Publick Money, by employing it to corrupt Members of Parliament, or to maintain a standing Army, to bully the People out of their Senates.

These Members, that made up that Party, have moved according to different Principles ; for one hath acted out of pure and sincere Love to his Countrey, another out of Hatred and Malice to Statemen, and a third out of Design to ruine the Government, in which he was not employed : Of what a Medley of Men then, hath that Countrey-Faction been composed ? Nevertheless, People ought to make no Distinction amongst them, so long as they all promote the Publick Interest ; because they will have time enough to discern the Dregs of a Faction, so soon as they separat from the pure Body.

Now after the Description of the fore-said Factions, Methinks, that 'tis the Countrey-Faction, which ought to be carreassed and esteemed by all their Constituents,

sitvera, as Men that act both out of
 Conscience and Honour, knowing that
 the Freedom and Wealth of every State
 go hand in hand together. And it hath
 been often seen amongst our Fore-Fathers,
 that this Faction hath maintained both
 the Prerogative of their Kings, and the
 Liberties of their Countrey : Whilst the
 Court part hath found it convenient, to
 retire into the Shadows of Oblivion,
 'tis strange, that most of our Cour-
 tiers, for near these hundred Years,
 have been so much in Love with their
 privat Interest, and valued so little that
 of the Publick, that long ago, it hath
 been a Problem in Scotland, whether
 Parliaments were useful or not; because,
 the first thing proposed there, hath been
 always (next to Religion) a Subsidy
 for his Majesty: And which was both
 proposed and granted in one day, with-
 out the Members of Parliament taking
 the Pains to examine, to what use it
 should be employed, or to calculat a
 just Sum for the same use. And hence
 is the Reason, that Money given by Par-
 liaments to their Kings, hath served on-
 ly to be a Bait and Reward for Covetous
 Courti-

Courtiers to betray their Country, and for the insolent Taskmen, to oppress the Poor People.

At this rate, I confess, Parliaments are mere empty shadows of Liberty. When a Commissioner and Secretary could have asked His Majesty his Commands for Scotland, and at the same time engaged to secure the Major party of Parliament with Places and Promises, that it would be always in a readiness to Vote what ever way the Court pleased.

A mixt Government hath the Advantage of all other Governments; for, if Members of Parliament do but their Duty, it's impossible that ever it can hazard to be brought under the Tyrannie of its Monarch. But if the Members be debauch'd with Principles of Self-interest, and suffer the Nations Treasure to be wasted, Secretaries of State to undermine our Privileges, and Trade to be neglected; I say, That such a mixt Government is a Tyrannie established by our selves: And that no King ought to be blamed for drawing us after him, with our own Fetters of Slavery. Its

"Tis therefore, that the principal points of the Duty of Members of Parliament are,

Firstly, That they be Men unbiassed, and uncorrupt, preferring the Safety and Interest of the Country to any Self-love.

Secondly, That they endeavour to make good Laws that may both secure the Subjects Property, and promot the publick Good.

Thirdly, That they never grant a Subsidy, without knowing the Reason why, and how it is to be applyed for the Nations benefit.

Fourthly, That the succeeding Session of Parliament call to an exact account the Managers of the Subsidies granted by the preceeding Session; So that Courtiers may be prevented from disposing upon Pensions at pleasure, and the Publicans from imposing upon the Courtiers, by pretending that they are losers in collecting of Taxes.

Fifthly, That they impeach every great Man, who dare pursue destructive Measures, either against the Kings Honour, or the Countries Interest.

If these Maxims be studiously followed by our Parliaments, then will Scotland be sensible, how necessary it is, they are to promote every thing that tends to the Safety, Honour, and increase of Wealth; and how many Advantages a mixt Government hath above that of an Absolute. *M*oldington had this note
concerning the body and government of this Kingdom only
gives sufficient reason for making only
one Parliament for the whole Kingdom
and of that the best way is to have
SECT. V.

*What Measures this present
 Parliament ought to take
 for recovering the Abuses of
 former Reigns, and putting
 this Nation into a constant
 Course of Thriving.*

Were I skilful in making Panegy-
 ricks, I don't see how I could
 employ my Wit and Talent better, than
 in praising those Members who in the
 last Session of Parliament did begin to
 put a Stop to that Imprudent Method,

we

we have always had, of raising Taxes from the People; without considering the State of the Nation, and whether or not it was in a Condition, by its Trade, to maintain as many Peasantry and Forces, as it had done during the late War with France. I wish therefore that all the Honourable Members may continue in the same good Sentiments this ensuing Session, minding only their Countries Business, and believing that to be the best way both to serve His Majesty and themselves.

Tis an hard Task for any knowing Physician to give a just Advice for recovering any Patient that hath been long Hectick; much more is it for any privat Man, to lay down an exact Method to a Parliament (whose Constitution hath been almost changed by the supine negligence of its Members) for putting it self & succeeding Parliaments upon so good a Foot, that neither the too much Complaisance for their Kings, nor the Treachery of any that is entrusted with publick Employments, can be able to shake them.

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However, being that every one is obliged in duty to contribute both his Advice, and any other thing, to the support of that Society, whereof he is a Member: My Advice then to the enibring Session of Parliament is as followeth.

First. That there be an Act for a Biennial Parliament, that may sit two Months once in the two years, (without the Kings having power to Adjourn it for the said two Months) and which in the beginning of the third year, shall be dissolved: His Majesty at the same time, empowering all Counties and Burroughs, to choose new Commissioners for the following Biennial Parliament. By such an Act, Grievances will be redressed, and the Business of the Nation taken care of: Because, every succeeding Parliament will cause the Acts of former Parliaments to be put in Execution: Nor will it be worth the pains of States-men and Courtiers to corrupt Members of Parliament, their power being but of a small continuance, and Parliaments will also have the liberty to sit and do Business, without the

trouble of Being Adjourned from day to day. For in my humble Opinion, If Parliaments cannot sit and do Business, I don't know for what use they serve.

Secondly, That there be an Act for a *Habeas Corpus*, conceived much after the Tenour of that of the *English*. Which Act will first encourage Men both to speak and Writ their Sentiments concerning the Interest of the publick, without being afraid of the Censure or Displeasure of Men in power, for every body knows how much the Liberty of the Press doth Contribute for exposing the Truth, and giving political Spectacles to every Honest Man, by which he can see the Corruptions of Statesmen and guard against their surprises. And I may say that our Neighbour Nation owes the Preservation of its priviledges to the Liberty of the press; for how often had their unthinking Members of Parliament been wheedled into a Complyance with their former Kings, to destroy their Constituents Liberties, if they had not had the true Representation of the Affairs of the Nation laid down before them by some honest sensible

fible Men? Which did serve as a Pole-star to steer their Course by, and to excite them to Diligence in their Duty. *Secondly*, A *Habeas Corpus* will prevent Peoples being punished above the Merit of their Crimes, and of this Injustice the Emperors, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, were sensible; when in their Constitutions (2. 3. Cod. *de Custo-
torum*) it is ordained, that those who were shut up in Prison be either convicted and punished in due time, if Guilty, or Absolved, if Innocent. The Words of the Text are, *De his quos re-
net carcere inclusos, id aperta definitione
sanctius, ut aut corvidos velox pena
subducatur, aut liberandos Cuffadia diuturna
non maceret.*

Thirdly, That there be an Act establishing a Council of Trade, the Nature of which I have touched a little in the Section of the Commons; For, Trade is of so great Moment to any Nation, which wishes to make a Figure amongst its Neighbours, That, in a word, either it must understand it in all its Mazes, or must resolve to follow the Old Patriarch's way of living, which is,

to confine it self only to what Nature requires. For which reason it is required, that there be a Council of Trade, whose Business it should be to lay down good and rational Measures for managing it, and for Curbing all the little tricks which discourage People to Traffick.

Fourthly, That the Army be reduced so as few as are only necessary for putting the Laws in Execution, and for preserving Peace at home; Because, every wise Nation, that hath its freedom and a power to observe the fundamental Laws of its Constitution, never keeps more Soldiers in time of Peace than are sufficient to protect the Execution of Justice. I am sorry therefore, That we have neither Money to maintain so many brave Men that are in our Troops, nor at present any advantageous service to employ them in, which might make them useful to this Kingdom: Unless we had got a Right to parts of the King of Spain's Testament, which was lately made by the care of his Neighbours.

Fifthly, That a good Method be fall'n on for regulating our Militia, and

a Fund provided for maintaining broken Officers, who may be useful to Oversee them. For it were hard, that Gentlemen, who sometime or other may be capable to serve their Country, should be exposed to the Inconveniences of Poverty.

Sixthly, That all good Laws be made for encouraging Shipping, which is, and ought to be both the Offensive and Defensive force of this Kingdom.

Seventhly, That there be an Act declaring, That no Pensioner shall be capable to Vote in Parliament, or any body that hath his immediat Livelihood from His Majesty; Because, it is to be supposed, that all Pensioners will prefer the Humor of their Benefactor, to the Interest of their Country.

Eighty, That a new Committee of Parliament be appointed every half year, to supply the places of Privy Counsellors to his Majesty. And the Advantages of such an Act are evident to every Body, that knows the Practices of a Privy Council composed of Courtiers.

By

By these and such Acts, the Affairs of this Kingdom can be brought to so good a State, that not only it may provide for it's own Safety and Treasure, but likewise be in a Condition, either to ~~separat~~ from *England*, or to unite with it: As the Wisdom of this Nation shall find it convenient.

That there is a Necessity for *Scotland*, either to unite with *England*, or ~~separat~~ from it, is evident by the Experience of 97 years. In which time, this loose and irregular Tye of the Crowns, in place of an Union of Hearts, Hands and Civil Interest, hath only given Occasion to ill disposed Persons in both Kingdoms, to foment continual Jealousies and Animosities betwixt them: And to the *English*, an Opportunity of crushing every thing, that can make for the Interest of *Scotland*. Instances of which are innumerable, and some of them are but too fresh in our Memories.

I have already shewed the Advantages of an Union to both Kingdoms, in the preceding Essay, and there is no Person more capable to bring that noble Work to a happy issue, than his present Majesty;

ity; who, therefore, ought to be Ad-dressed for that end, by the Parliaments of both Nations, that they may have the Liberty to sit at the same time, for adjusting all Matters that relate to that important Affair.

But if the *English* continue to neglect, and delay to unite with *Scotland* upon reasonable Terms, the *Scots* only Interest will be, to mind their own Business for the future; so that whatever War may happen to *England*, let them ly aside, preserving Peace both at Home and Abroad; and making the best Advantage they can, either of their Neighbours Circumstances, or their own: Knowing, that tho' his *Britannick* Majesty can declare War against any of his Neighbouring Princes, by Virtue of his Prerogative, yet he cannot oblige his *Scots* Subjects to furnish Money for carrying it on, unless they please, and find it for their Interest. Which is impossible, so long as there is no greater Union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, than at present. For ever since our Kings Accession to the Crown of *England*, the *English* have always used the *Scots*, as the Ape did

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did the Cat's Clutch, to pull the Chestnut out of the Fire.

Let us therefore apply our selves to Frugality and Honesty, and to every thing that can put this Nation above the Contempt of its Neighbours. Let us acknowledge King *William* for our Monarch so long as he liveth, and till the Hour of his Death, let us never so much as talk of a Successor to him, nor Cabel either for the Prince of *Wales* or *Hanover*. But may we for once mind our selves, having already born the load of procuring Kings to the English Throne, who have only made use of us to serve their own ends.

At his present Majesties Death, if there be no Successor, which is already provided by Law, and if this Kingdom be not united with *England*; Experience will teach us, how to dispose of our Government. And no doubt, but *Scotland* is as able to subsist of it self, by the Industry and Wisdom of its People, as well as many petty Governments in *Europe*.

I will now end, putting the present Members of Parliament in Mind, That being;

being, in all probability, his Majesty will not ratifie that *Resolve* of Parliament concerning *Danien*; without which, (according to my Opinion) there's none of this *Scots* Subjects, that did contribute for that Expedition, but by Law may be pursued as *Pirats*, or their Abettors: Or must accept of a Dischargeable Remission. I say then, in the mean time, let the Members accept of all other good Laws, his Majesty will be pleased to grant, and especially, the Act for a Biennial Parliament; without which, I would not give a Farthing for a thousand good Laws, because they will all be broke, for want of Execution. But never let them give more Taxes, during his Majesties Life, which are not for advancing some Publick Benefit to the Kingdom.

And by so doing, we will testify to all the World, that the *Scots* are not to blame, for being branded with the ignominious Crime of Piracy: Having had all the Right, that the Law of Nations could give them, for taking Possession of such a Place.

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Being

Being then, the Honour and Safety of this Ancient Kingdom, the Advantages that may sacrifice to it for the future, and it's own present Happiness, in a word, depend absolutely upon the steady and honest Conduct of the Members of this Parliament; Let, therefore, every Member, who shall prefer his privat Interest to that of the Publick, be an Abomination to all Honest *Sons*— Who, I hope, shall have no more reason to complain to Providence in the Words of *Lucay*,

Felix Roma quidem, Civesque habitura superbos;
Si Libertatis Superis tam Cura placet,
Quam Vindicta placet —————

F**I****N****I****S**: His
To quench: —————
Griefs. —————

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